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House Platform

Most dwelling houses and a few cook houses are built on a platform of coral rubble (*paepae*), several feet larger than the ground area of the house. The rubble is contained by a curbing of coral stones 8 to 10 inches high. Some houses are built on a secondary or upper platform of rubble limited by a coral or log curbing, which forms the house floor and extends about 12 inches beyond the walls of the house. Most houses in the copra settlements are built on a single low platform, gravel inside the house being retained by log curbings.

Variations on Type House

Variations on the type house are found in the copra settlements.

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One house on the lee beach of Ua conforms in all particulars to the *unkeyanoa* style, save that the ridgepole is supported by two ridgeposts, which stand on the lower side of the end tiebeams. This house combines features from the *unkeyanoa* type and the *uale atea* type. Most houses on exposed beaches are permanently covered on three sides with *takapau* mats or *pola* roof sheets fastened to wall poles. Only the leeward side of the house is left open between the ground and low eaves. In exposed situations, cook houses and dwelling houses of the *unkeyanoa* type are provided with roof extensions (*tarumata*) to cover eaves or to provide a roomy wind break. The rafters on the exposed side of the house are extended to about 18 inches or 2 feet from the ground and supported on subsidiary wall posts and a subsidiary wall plate. The extension is thatched, and permanent *takapau* mats are fastened to the outside of the subsidiary wall posts.

A small typical *unkeyanoa* house, used as a sleep house in Yato village, measured 15 feet 8 inches long, 11 feet 7 inches wide; the eaves were 4 feet 6 inches from the ground; and the ridgepole was 9 feet 7 inches from the ground.

Storage Houses

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Houses of the *unkeyanoa* type used as storage houses (*uale tukutuku*) for nuts, fishing gear, or old canoe sections are often built far enough from the village to be safe from fire, but near enough to be easily visited. The floor of a *uale tukutuku* is used either as a place for lumber storage, or as a workshop for craft activities. According to the number of nut trees a man owns and the number of nuts he has to store, he possesses one or more *uale tukutuku*. Four houses was the usual number for an average family in former times, before copra was made.

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Storage Platform

Nuts at the *tukutuku* stage are stored on a platform laid on the tiebeams and occupying the whole area marked out by the tiebeams. The lengths of wood forming the platform and the rafters are laid very close together to prevent the intrusion of rodents. Legitimate entry to the platform is made through one or two gates or hatch-

Stone Seats

Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokouo-langi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Tasa, saw stone seats on the island of Wakaiova and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones; missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on lonely outer beaches. Musgrave's statement (*66*, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Tuvalu and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states was used by the chief man Wata-manava-nui, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are elevated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the sea; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

Walls

Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Motala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*fau*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolu. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

House Foundations

The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

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Wells

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Deep wells dug close to the beach were always faced with coral slabs. Shallow wells, 1 or 2 feet deep, were not faced unless they were in constant use. Slabs at the bottom of the well were stood on edge and forced into the sand; the sand was dug out inside these upright slabs and the bottom of the well paved with coral gravel. Above water level, the sides of the well were faced with horizontal slabs set one above the other. The edge of the well at ground level was faced with especially large blocks of stone to give a firm foothold to the drawer of water and to ensure that the top of the well would not cave in.

126 FIGURE 20—Plan of fishweirs. *a*, stone-walled fishweir off western beach of Yato village; walls about 20 feet long, width of three weirs about 60 feet; fish swept into weirs by ebbing tide moving in direction of arrow. *b*, composite weir in lagoon indentation: 1, causeway forms one wall of weir; 2, row of stones set against causeway to block possible channels; 3, row of stones forming second wall of exit (*ala ika*); 4, coconut-leaf weir forms second wall of weir; net placed at convergence of leaf and stone walls to catch fish moving with ebbing tide in direction of arrow.

Fishweirs

Stone fishweirs are found in the reef shallows opposite the northwest beach of Wale, between the beach and the reef passage. One weir is about 100 yards from the beach and consists of stones piled in line to make an enlarged W-shape; the second weir is close to the beach and consists of stones forming a W-shaped trap contiguous with a second trap in the shape of a large square-bottomed U (fig. 20*a*). The weirs face north and south; the exits are at the northern end, that is, at the points of the W and at the two sides of the bottom of the U. The ebbing tide sweeps through the weirs on its way out over the reef and carries the fish along into the weirs blocked with hand scoop nets.

A combination stone and coconut-sweep weir (fig. 20*b*) is built in the small lagoon indentation cut off from the main lagoon by the causeway that joins the two sections of Yato village. The fishermen seated on the causeway is able to block the exit of the weir with a scoop net.

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No other sites visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early missionary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the lake (swamp), to make walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the mortar for the new stone houses.

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The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Polynesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright slab. The religious structure adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others, each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred man standing inside the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at once" (1849:14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularize these religious enclosures in more detail.

Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*pisega*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or else several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the seats (*puta*) of the priests in the god house (*unale atua*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

Graves

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613
Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*paepae*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

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Outside these walls are observable the stone *paepae* that marked the foundations of old houses of mourning (*unale matenga*). On one foundation are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted; on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

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Within each cemetery the graves are of three types: the modern Christian, enclosed, headline grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners (pl. 2, *B*).

Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of children (*alihi unale* and *tuai alihi*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at